



MOZAMBIQUE
REVOLUTION

mozambique liberation front

M O Z A M B I Q U E R E V O L U T I O N

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FRONT COVER : Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, late President of FRELIMO

EDITORIAL

Eduardo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, was assassinated in Dar es Salaam on the 3rd of February, 1969. The people of Mozambique understand the meaning of his death as they understood the meaning of his life, as an offer and a dedication to the struggle.

His life was the life of a man who left his country at an early age in order to learn to know the world, and who finally came to know himself more fully as a Mozambican, belonging to that country. Of a man who could understand and absorb the good of other civilisations and still never lose sight of the fact that the main goal was to turn this knowledge to the service of the Mozambican struggle. Of a man who, having travelled widely and seen many towns, having known many men, having won their admiration and respect, and having achieved success in their society, still could leave all this and return to lead the struggle for the liberation of his country. Of a man who helped to shape the struggle in the many ways that we now recall in this moment of meditation, recall as a tribute to him and a memento for us.

We remember him, and that memory comforts us in our grief, because he helped us reach the unity that we all longed for. Out of many groups he led one united front; out of many tribes he was able to foresee one nation. Never did he identify himself with one group or one tribe; never did he fail to perform his duty as a man of the nation, a Mozambican. From him we learned to judge a man on the basis of his abilities and not his origin. And this proved right. All the different groups came to be represented, but in such a way that each was able to contribute best where it was most capable. From him we learned to accept all the tribal heritages and merge them into a common wealth, to form a new culture belonging to all Mozambicans. His firm belief in the possibility of reaching such a goal, in the very necessity of it, was shown by the efforts he made and inspired us to make to create a

new system of education for ourselves and for our people. But it shone through for all to see - and this was no minor thing - even in his daily attitude, his bearing. In his open smile, there spoke the certainty of one who had overcome the myth of alleged inferiority, there spoke the triumph of having proved the contrary. In his bold laughter spoke the pride of asserting himself as a new man of a new country, as a Mozambican. In his straightforward friendliness spoke the reliance on a reality which we were creating together. We remember him for having helped us in so many ways to recognise ourselves as Mozambicans.

And we praise him because he constantly inspired confidence by his own example - confidence in ourselves and in our people. In his way of leading discussion, we could see how he respected the thoughts and trusted the will of others. If we differed, he would fight to the end, always trying to convince, never to impose, and if his arguments were defeated, then without hesitation he would accept the decision of the majority. In his many activities, in his travels and engagements, his calm confidence showed the inner peace of a man who had had to struggle against enormous obstacles, but not with his own conscience, because he knew he was right in following the will of the people, always trying to understand it and to interpret in the correct way. In his dealing with the outside world, we saw in practice his concept of non-alignment, based on a firm faith that it is not necessary to bend to any external power, that it is possible to work steadily toward the goal of reaching a political identity of our own. We praise him for having shown us the strength of relying on ourselves and trusting ourselves.

And we honour him because he taught us to hate, for he taught us whom to hate and why to hate. Son of a freedom-fighter, descendant of freedom-fighters and leader of freedom-fighters, he knew the importance of the right target for hatred, what a formidable weapon it could be if directed correctly: "Yes,

our men must kill...but not fight against the colour of the enemy, fight against the things he fights for, systems of economic and social control..." All his efforts to provide all possible support to the armed struggle reflected a bitter and serious understanding of the power of the enemy, a clear understanding of who the enemy is. We now add to all this our knowledge of the brutal way in which he was murdered.

This murder will be avenged and the enemies of the Mozambican people must expect our revenge to fall on them and their sons with inflexible justice. It was a vain hope that they nourished if they thought to discourage us by this barbarous elimination of one man, even if a great man. In this they showed their weakness, their ignorance of the Revolution which has taught us through the toughest experience how to make of every apparent setback a new point of attack, how to use every momentary retreat as an opportunity for a run and leap forward, how to find in defeat the means for victory. We grow stronger from our calamities, and this case is no different from the other battles. It is a test for us, perhaps one of harshest, but we shall face it with the kind of determination that the man we lost symbolised to us. We honour him for having given us the example of courage.

And we thank him because he was able to speak for us the language of other men - the language of the diplomats, the language of the universities, the language of power. Among all these voices, he gave a voice to Mozambique, and, imposing silence on others, he made that voice heard, commanding respect for our grievances and for our struggle. So we gave him the task of representing us before the world and of expressing us to the world. We thank him for having performed this task with intelligence and ability.

Thus, we commemorate his life and we mourn his death. We knew, as he knew, that this could happen, even if it seemed

impossible that all that energy, all that strength and vitality could be crushed. How full of life was his body, how free and at ease his way of moving and doing things, how sure his voice. We mourn the death of these physical things which cannot survive as other aspects of him can. We mourn him as a man. And as a man. we know that he was not free of fault or error, or of shortcomings. The Revolution will build better men, but he worked to build the Revolution. And he fought - as we continue to do - in this hope: that our descendants can be better men than we were even given the chance to be. But they will carry with them the memory of our first leader. By his death, they will understand that for us the principle INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH was not devoid of meaning. But to it we add that it has been a physical death; it will be another step toward independence. We will make it so. Because we will be more determined, more stubborn and implacable than we ever were. We will proceed with obstinate perseverance along the path of the Revolution and we will multiply our efforts now that we have to fill that place made empty by murder. Our enemies must not forget that the guerrilla fighter returns to battle with increased rage when he has seen a comrade fall.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE

VENCEREMOS!

COMMUNIQUE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of FRELIMO met in Dar es Salaam on 11th February, 1969, following the assassination of the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.

The Executive Committee paid homage to their late President. These homages included a Statement denouncing the criminal assassination and extolling the leadership of Comrade Mondlane and reaffirming their decision to continue the struggle until final victory.

The Executive Committee sent a message of condolence to the wife of Comrade Mondlane and their children, encouraging her to continue in her post as a FRELIMO militant together with all the other militants of FRELIMO.

The Executive Committee declared that in conformity with the statutes of FRELIMO, the Vice-President, Comrade Uria Simango will assume the functions of President until the next meeting of the Central Committee.

STATEMENT

Comrade President of FRELIMO, Doctor Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, was killed, assassinated, on the 3rd day of February, 1969, in a barbarous attack by a bomb in Dar es Salaam.

Mozambique, FRELIMO and the Mozambican people have lost one of their dearest sons, a man of greatest prestige and dignity.

Comrade President Mondlane was a founding member of FRELIMO. He was the builder of the unity of the Mozambican people. He was the moving force of nationalism in Mozambique. Around Comrade Mondlane the nationalist militants regrouped themselves and under his orientation our nationalist movement, FRELIMO, developed and consolidated, overcoming extremely difficult odds, until it became a solid organisation established in the whole national territory.

It was under his wise leadership that the work of mobilisation and organisation was carried on and culminated in the launching of the armed struggle and afterwards permitted the constant development of political and military activities. Our dear Comrade Eduardo Mondlane was therefore our President, the President of FRELIMO and of the Mozambican people. He was the leader, the uncontested guide of the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation, incarnating the revolutionary nationalism of the Mozambican people.

The loss of Comrade President Mondlane constitutes a great loss for our country, for our people, for our Revolution.

Our enemy, the Portuguese colonialists, allied with the imperialist forces of the world, knew well the revolutionary valour of our Comrade Mondlane and the extraordinary political importance of his action as leader of the Mozambican Revolution.

During the course of these years of struggle we inflicted immense defeats on the Portuguese colonialists. We won great victories permitting our people to exercise their sovereignty over vast regions of our country. Incapable of stopping the advance of our struggle, incapable of confronting us in the battlefield, the enemy took recourse to criminal and barbaric means and assassinated our dear Comrade, President Mondlane.

The Executive Committee of FRELIMO indignantly condemns this criminal and cruel act of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism which deprives FRELIMO and the Mozambican Revolution of their most valiant warrior and which aims at the liquidation of the just struggle for the liberty of the Mozambican people.

But our struggle will not stop. The crime now committed by the Portuguese colonialists allied with world imperialism will be a new yeast which will increase our hatred against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, the hatred against oppression in all its forms, the hatred against all regimes that are oppressive - colonial, fascist or racist, the hatred against the exploitation of man by man.

The Executive Committee reaffirms the profound dedication of FRELIMO to proceed until the end with the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, for the achievement of complete national independence for Mozambique and the construction of a popular social order, free from the exploitation of man by man. The Executive Committee will continue its activities within the framework of the principles, orientation and programme clearly defined by the Second Congress of FRELIMO. FRELIMO and the Mozambican people will continue their efforts in order to extend the armed struggle to the whole country, always mobilising and organising the people in a Mozambique united from the Ruvuma to the Maputo.

It is by following this way, by repeating once again and forever our total dedication to the continuation of the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation until the end that we, the Mozambican people, united around FRELIMO, shall honour the memory of our dear leader and guide, Comrade President Eduardo C. Mondlane. We shall extol his example and shall be the true inheritors of his work and his legitimate continuators.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE,
VENCEREMOS!

Executive Committee of FRELIMO
11 February, 1969.

MESSAGE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO COMRADE JANET MONDLANE

Comrade Janet Rae Mondlane,
Dar es Salaam.

11th February, 1969

Dear Comrade,

The Executive Committee of FRELIMO which met in Dar es Salaam on 11th February, 1969, wishes to express to you and to your children its sorrowful condolences and those of all FRELIMO militants and of the whole Mozambican people for the death of your husband - our leader - Comrade President Eduardo C. Mondlane.

The Executive Committee condemns with greatest indignation this barbarous assassination perpetrated by the forces of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. FRELIMO and the whole Mozambican people will honour the memory of Comrade President Mondlane and, respecting his example, will follow until the end and without flagging, the armed struggle for national liberation. In this moment of sorrow we extend to you all the warmth of sympathy and friendship being sure that you, Comrade Janet, together with all the other FRELIMO militants, will continue with courage and vigour to occupy your post as a militant of FRELIMO and of the Mozambican Revolution.

Please accept, Comrade, for you and your children, our deep feeling of sympathy and friendship.

For the Executive Committee.
Uria T. Simango. Acting President.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT OF FRELIMO

The great successes of our liberation struggle created fear and despair among the enemy. They know that our people are ready to fight until the end, until final victory. They know that the leaders of FRELIMO are determined to lead the struggle to the real independence of Mozambique.

Unable to defeat us in the battlefield, the Portuguese colonialists, with their agents and imperialist allies decided to resort to another method: the killing of the leaders of FRELIMO.

It was in accordance with this line of action that they organised the murder of our Comrade JAIME RIVAZ SIGAUKE, whilst in Zambia on a party mission; of Comrade MATHEUS SANSAO MUTEMBA, in Dar es Salaam; of Comrade SAMUEL KANKHOMBA, in Tanzania, near the border of Mozambique. The last assassination perpetrated by the colonialists was of our beloved President, Comrade EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE, on the 3rd February, 1969.

On that day, early in the morning, our President went to the office and worked with several comrades. At about 10 a.m. he collected all his mail from the office and went to the home of a friend, a quiet place, to be able to work undisturbed. Among the mail he took with him was a book, wrapped and addressed to him.

Once at the house he started opening his mail. He took the book and tore off the paper wrapping. When he opened the book, there was a great explosion, killing our President.

In the course of the investigations, the C.I.D. of Tanzania found that inside the book was a bomb, inserted in such a way that it exploded when the book was opened.

The book was sent from a European country, addressed to the President of FRELIMO.

It is easy to see that we are faced with an international imperialist conspiracy aimed at destroying FRELIMO through the assassination of its leaders.

As additional proof, some days later our Comrade MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Political Department, also received a book. As we knew the circumstances of the death of our President, we sent the book to the C.I.D. before opening it. And, using appropriate techniques, the police found that in fact, there was a similar bomb in that book.

By these assassinations the enemy are trying to demoralise us and make us abandon the struggle. But they are wrong, NOTHING can make the Mozambican people retreat in the struggle for the Liberation of Mozambique.

SOLIDARITY MESSAGES

The President of FRELIMO, Comrade EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE, was well-known and respected the world over. The news of his assassination caused great grief and indignation. Hundreds of messages were sent to FRELIMO expressing sorrow at the death of our President, extolling his spirit as a Revolutionary fighter and expressing confidence that our struggle will go on, vigourously, until Mozambique is free. We quote some of the messages :

From President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania.

"Those who carried out this ghastly act are enemies of African freedom. On behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania, I send my condolences to FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique.

"To the people of Tanzania and Mozambique, I wish to state that Dr. Mondlane died for the freedom of his country. The best way to mourn him is to intensify the struggle to free Africa".

(President Nyerere attended the funeral of the President of FRELIMO, as well as the two Vice-Presidents of Tanzania, H.E. A. Karume and H.E. R.S. Kawawa, many ministers, other members of the Government, of TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party. Comrade President Mondlane was buried with full military honours due to a Head of State and National Hero. A 19 gun salute was fired in his honour.)

From President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia.

"The assassination of Dr. Mondlane comes as a shock to my Government and people of Zambia. FRELIMO has lost a dedicated leader and Africa has lost a Statesman. Dr. Mondlane has brought to FRELIMO not only stature, integrity and respect, above all, effectiveness in the struggle for the independence of Mozambique. Through his leadership, FRELIMO had become a force which the Portuguese Administration could not but recognise as a determining factor in the future of that territory.

"This dastardly act must be condemned as cowardly and savage in the extreme. It is the work of the agents of colonialism and imperialism working ruthlessly to defeat the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. His disappearance from the political scene in Mozambique is a setback to the independence movement and it will be very difficult to recover this loss both in time and effectiveness.

"This assassination must be a warning to all liberation movements. The physical elimination of their leader does not benefit them but the minority oppressors whom they are fighting against. Their protection is necessary but the squabbles which have been in evidence of late only open the door for the enemies to bring the whole liberation struggle to a grinding halt. Freedom fighters will be the sufferers.

"It is my sincere hope that OAU Liberation Committee will do everything to prevent the repetition of such incidents, the cost of which is without parallel."

From President Ahmed Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea.

"We have learnt with sorrow of the dastardly assassination of the leader of the Mozambique Liberation Movement, Dr. Mondlane, President of FRELIMO. We condemn the manipulations of certain Africans against the African Liberation Movements and we ask you to present our condolences to his family and to all his fellow freedom-fighters. The Democratic Party of Guinea, the people, the Government and myself assure you of our total solidarity, for the complete liberation of Mozambique and of the African motherland. Hold high your flag".

From President Gamal Abdul Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, sent through H.E. Elbidewy, U.A.R. Ambassador to Tanzania.

"President Gamal Abdul Nasser being deeply shocked by the untimely demise of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of the FRELIMO Movement. Has instructed me to convey on his behalf and people of United Arab Republic his profound condolence to the Movement of FRELIMO and the family of the departed soul for the great loss of this heroic leader. May the almighty rest his soul in eternal peace. Undoubtedly the cause for which Dr. Mondlane died will inspire other leaders to rise and to intensify the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

Joint Message from the Ministers of External Affairs of
East and Central Africa meeting in Dar es Salaam.

"The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of East and Central Africa meeting here in Dar es Salaam have learnt with great shock and consternation of the tragic and untimely death of the leader of the people of Mozambique and the President of FRELIMO, Dr. Mondlane. In this hour of grief, the Foreign Ministers herein assembled, wish to express their profound sense of this loss to Africa and Mozambique, and at the same time their deeply felt condolences to the Central Committee of FRELIMO, to the people of Mozambique as a whole, and in particular to his family.

The Ministers also deplore this brutal and senseless act of the enemies of Africa, and affirm their unflinching solidarity with the people of Mozambique in their just struggle against the vicious forces of Portuguese colonialism. They hope, therefore that his death will not be in vain and that the People of Mozambique will now intensify the struggle, relentlessly up to final victory".

From Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"We are deeply moved by the assassination of the President of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane. On behalf of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and in my own name, I express to you our heart-felt condolences."

The Government and the Destour Socialist Party of Tunisia sent a delegation to Dar es Salaam especially to pay homage to the late President of FRELIMO. The delegation was headed by a member of the Central Committee of the Party, Mr. Abdelhamid Amar. In the message they said:

"It is with deep emotion that we transmit to FRELIMO and the Mozambican people, on behalf of President BOURGUIBA, of the Destour Socialist Party and of the people of Tunisia, our grief and our homage to the memory of the fighter Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, dastardly assassinated by the forces of obscurantism and reaction. His tragic disappearance will - we are sure - reinforce the unity of the people of Mozambique and their determination in the struggle for final victory. Tunisia will always be on the side of the people of Mozambique in their struggle for development, justice, progress and dignity".

From
brother Kaid Ahmed, Head of the F.L.N. of Algeria.

"I have just received the news of the assassination of brother President of FRELIMO, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique has lost one of her most valiant sons, one of those who dared to face the dangers which threaten all freedom fighters in Africa and everywhere.

The physical disappearance of the President Eduardo Mondlane, however, does not mean the death of the Movement he led with courage and wisdom, and we are certain that the Revolution, far from extinguishing, will find in this painful proof the indispensable force which will allow it to overcome all blows directed against an African people to whom we have always expressed our sympathy and our solidarity.

The National Liberation Front expresses to FRELIMO and to the brother people of Mozambique all its active solidarity, which is proof of the engagement of the Algerian people for the cause of freedom in the world.

From the Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cap-Vert (PAIGC), comrade Amilcar Cabral.

"Deeply moved with tragic news of the murder of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, we send, in the name of our people, the expression of our deep sorrow and our condolences to the fighting people of Mozambique. We are certain that, in response to this miserable crime, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO, will close ranks and reinforce their heroic struggle until the total liberation of Africa's Fatherland."

From the President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), comrade Agostinho Neto :

"We learned with indignation, surprise and grief of the assassination of comrade Dr EDUARDO MONDLANE, President of your Organisation. This treacherous act shows the nature of the enemies of our common struggle against Portuguese colonialism. We wish to express our solidarity with FRELIMO and our sorrow for this ignobil act.

Also, we wish to offer you our full cooperation. On behalf of the militants and of the leaders of our Movement, and on my own behalf, I wish you courage in the trial period you are in. Our sincere condolences."

AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS

IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

Seven members of the Dar es Salaam University College Revolutionary Front recently spent four weeks with FRELIMO travelling through the liberated areas of Mozambique, meeting and speaking with the people and observing their struggle for national liberation. The following is an account of their visit: why they went, what they saw, and the impressions they brought back. They called their safari "OPERATION KIMATHI" in memory of Field-Marshall DEDAN KIMATHI, hero of the Kenyan Revolution.

As members of an organisation with a philosophy and belief in revolution as the only means to progressive social change, we are aware that abstract discussion and debate can never be an adequate substitute for first-hand experience of the revolutionary situation. And a lack of this experience is indefensible when one of Africa's fiercest liberation wars is taking place on our own door-step. Moreover, we were interested to see for ourselves what was happening in Mozambique, whether there were in fact wide-scale military operations, as claimed by FRELIMO; and if so how intensive and with what degree of success. Or whether the colonialist statements about spasmodic, disorganised, 'terrorist' attacks were justified. In addition, we would bring the message of solidarity to our brother across the Ruvuma. We would demonstrate that Africa, Black Africa in particular, is one, having a unity that transcends boundaries imposed by colonialists. We thus approached FRELIMO and asked them to take us inside Mozambique. They agreed.

our misconceptions

We started out with a few serious misconceptions about the situation in Mozambique. For instance, we thought that fighting was still at what Che Guevara terms "the nomadic stage", i.e. bands of guerrillas with no fixed base roaming the countryside. We also expected that people would be roaming

around with caution, constantly on the alert for signs of the Portuguese. It was quite a rude awakening! For we crossed the Ruvuma River at 11 a.m. - in broad daylight, with no efforts to conceal our presence. When we reached the other side our guides and the "wananchi" were talking quite normally, and in fact there was quite a hive of activity with groups of people arriving one after the other to deliver their agricultural produce to the co-operatives. They were bartering with FRELIMO for salt, soap, clothes, saucepans, etc. This was the first of many surprises.

Military organisation has far surpassed the "nomadic" stage. It consists of the army (jeshi) with solid permanent bases, the peoples' militias, and the FRELIMO Youth League. All are armed and all are involved in the fighting, the regular army having the offensive role and the remaining two being defensive. However, by 'regular army' it is not meant the conventional concept with which we are all familiar. The FRELIMO army is a peoples' army, trained to serve the masses and work with them.

We saw many examples of the complete unison between the army and the civilian peasant farmers. At one of their meetings, for instance, an army commander asked the Youth League to assign some of its members for a patrol, as the army was occupied elsewhere. This they did - and the group included both boys and girls. On another occasion, in one of the camps, the peasants arrested two soldiers who had left the camp without permission. Civilians actually arrested the military. Their subsequent treatment was extremely interesting. For they were not punished, but given an ideological lecture before the whole camp, including reprimands by the local people. The commander invited general opinion and everyone was allowed to speak. Some months earlier three Portuguese deserters had been found wandering in the bush by some peasants who immediately brought them to the army.

people aware of imperialism.

Complementary to this active participation and co-operation is the peasant's very high level of political consciousness. Ask the people who their enemies are, and they do not reply automatically: the Portuguese. In fact, the "wareno" (Portuguese) are considered stooges of western imperialism. Everyone knows the real enemy of the Mozambican people is Portugal together with the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France and other western allies, and, of course, the Boers. Even when we asked an eight year old boy to identify the Wacolonialists he was fighting, he replied, WaPortuguese, WaAmericanos, Boers. Old and young, women and children, are aware that Portugal could never manufacture such amounts of bombs as are dropped just on Mozambique alone, not to mention the other territories. They know full well where all this war material comes from.

Another illustration of the extent to which the peasants identify themselves with the struggle can be seen in their active participation in

combat activities, which are by no means confined to the peoples' militias. For example, when an unexploded bomb is found, as sometimes happens, and the army is not at hand, they use it to blow up enemy trucks. They are extremely efficient both at making their own weapons - knives and guns - and at adapting weapons they are given to local conditions. All of them know how to handle everything, from a hand-grenade to a mine, even the most complicated modern weapons. During our visit, a Portuguese group was wiped out after falling on some mines controlled by an old peasant who can neither read nor write. He is nevertheless a military engineer.

a lesson - the force of the people

The achievements of the peasants made a lasting impression on us all. They exploded the whole myth of formal education. With at least fifteen years of formal schooling, we were absolutely no match for these people - in technology, in warfare, in physical fitness, in manhood. Of all the military commanders we met, none had gone beyond primary school, and the chief army commander, a former medical assistant, has the highest level of education. There are no experts, the so-called panacea to all Africa's evils, the current aspect of neo-colonialism in Africa. The people are their own experts, in agriculture and warfare. If only African leaders would realise that the peasants and workers of Africa can be resourceful and a great productive force, and have confidence in these people, rather than in so-called "international" educational standards.

Women play an important part in all activities - military included. We saw many young girls, thirteen and fourteen years old, in army uniform fully conversant with every kind of arms. There was no talk of "ladies first" or the rights of women because such statements are unnecessary. Everyone is equal. They think nothing of walking up to forty miles a day, as they did with us, carrying heavy loads of kit as well as their machine guns.

a sophisticated organisation

The Mozambican people in the northern provinces recall with bitterness the days when they were compelled to pay exorbitant taxes and received nothing in return but conscription into Portuguese plantations and South African mines. Now they cultivate their shambas and contribute to the liberation struggle. They have free medical services and free education for their children. Open-air dispensaries and schools are to be found everywhere. They may be ill-equipped, but they are there. The people refer to and regard FRELIMO as the government. FRELIMO has an administrative system similar to that of the Regional and Area Commissioners in Tanzania, but they are called Provincial and Area Chairmen. It has separate departments for dealing with education, health, finance and economic affairs. In one

particular aspect, we believe that the Mozambican is freer than any citizen in the East African countries. For there is no Asian trader - the indispensible middle-man! FRELIMO is the sole buyer and seller. Of course there is no currency, but it is not required as all goods and produce are bartered.

We have already mentioned that the first startling thing we saw here was the extensive trading activity near the border. The main produce being "purchased" by FRELIMO were cashewnuts, groundnuts and oilseeds, all of which are exported.

And what of the signs of war? In the particular section of Cabo Delgado that we toured, there were no Portuguese apart from the prisoners held by FRELIMO, and of course Portuguese aircraft who occasionally harassed us. One day they strafed an area nearby with their West German napalm. But it was totally ineffective. Usually a reconnaissance plane flies over the area first, and then is followed later by the bombers. It was fascinating how even four-year-old children could distinguish between the sounds of the two different kinds of aircraft. The whole area is thickly covered with bushes and as soon as the droning engines are heard, the people just go to their shelters where the bombs cannot reach them.

arms captured, deserters, prisoners

Belgian rifles, American mines, bazookas and TNT, West German MG machine guns, mounds of Portuguese uniforms - material proof of FRELIMO successes - all these things we saw with our own eyes. We saw many roads that had been completely destroyed. In fact during our visit the Portuguese attempted to open a road that was vital to their communications, but they were prevented from doing so by seven separate FRELIMO attacks. Eventually they were so frustrated that they even went so far as to leave notes for FRELIMO in the bush stating that if the road was repaired, both sides would benefit. But FRELIMO does not need roads; everyone goes on foot through the bush.

At one camp we visited, we were able to talk to some prisoners and deserters. One of them described a devastating attack, on 10 August, 1968, by the nationalist forces against Mueda airbase, where he was then stationed. Twelve aircraft were destroyed, to be followed a few days later by three more that were shot down. On the day after the Mueda attack, he was aboard one of six military lorries loaded with soldiers that was on its way to Mutamba dos Macondes. They were ambushed and five lorries destroyed. Americo only escaped because he was in the sixth lorry. He also gave an enlightening account of the low morale among the Portuguese soldiers because of the constant attacks and ambushes they suffer. Apparently, on arrival in Mozambique he and the other soldiers were told that they were going to fight Chinese, Tanzanian, Russians and Cubans who had invaded their country.

Our visit to Mozambique had an effect on us far greater than we had anticipated. We witnessed a full-scale military revolution in action. But, even more important, this was a successful revolution based on the leadership of FRELIMO and the courage, resourcefulness, tenacity of the Mozambican people and their determination to see their country free. They freely admit that an important element in their achievements is the support and assistance they receive from friends outside, but we came away convinced that there is still a great deal more that can be done, particularly by our own people here in East Africa.

how we can help

One of the best services we can offer is to provide the Mozambican people with a revolutionary and reliable East and Central African base. A mass of highly politically conscious people providing a 'revolution in the rear' impervious to the intrigues of imperialist propaganda, would not only show practical solidarity for their cause, but would provide a stable base from which they could consolidate their position in the north and head south, without having to concern themselves about difficulties with supply lines, or divert their energies towards cultivating delicate political relations. In addition, all of us in East Africa can do a lot as private persons. The University College Revolutionary Committee plans to set up Solidarity Committees throughout East Africa to mobilize material support for combatants in the South. We should be able to provide shoes, clothing, drugs, even such seemingly unimportant things as paper and chalk. On our return to Tanzania, we immediately sent some writing material and books to a class we had visited, where there were more than fifty children writing in dust with their fingers. Finally, we consider that people can do a great deal if they just think about Africa's problems and about their responsibilities towards their African brothers still suffering under the miseries of colonialism.

We also wish to appeal to the East African governments. Assistance is already given through the OAU Liberation Committee but much more can be done, without necessarily taxing resources needed for urgent domestic development. For example, they could permit FRELIMO to buy goods direct from the factory. Anyone not operating within this country cannot obtain a trade licence. This means that if FRELIMO wants to buy meat, they cannot go direct to Tanganyika Packers and pay cost price, but have to buy from a retailer in Mtwara, who in turn bought from a wholesaler in Dar es Salaam, an Indian with a licence to buy from the factory. Each of these middle-men takes his no insubstantial profit and the eventual price charged is considerably higher than the original one. This happens in the clothing and many other industries. We believe that FRELIMO should be allowed to purchase direct, those goods that are produced in East Africa.

we learnt much

Finally, a word on the achievements of our mission with regard to our original objectives. We returned from Mozambique even more convinced than ever of the importance of interaction between the intellectuals and the fighting masses in a revolution. We were taught how to march up to forty miles a day from 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. drinking water from rivers and with only three mangoes to eat. After a while we got used to it and considered it quite normal. We discovered that with all our years of formal education, we had a great deal to learn from the people. The achievements, abilities, determination and faith that we saw are indestructable evidence with which to counter the tales of those imperialist pawns who bemoan the fact that an African peasant army will never be a match for the jet squadrons, the napalm, the tanks, and all the other sophisticated paraphernalia of war that is at the disposal of the white masters. These sceptics refute the idea that the liberation war across the Ruvuma constitutes any real threat to Portuguese hegemony in Africa. But we have personally witnessed the fierce struggle that is taking place. Bomb craters, land and trees scorched with napalm, obliterated roads and bridges, literally tons of enemy weapons are irrefutable evidence of a hard and relentless war. No one denies that it will be a long, long war but there is also no doubt, in our minds at least, as to what the eventual outcome will be. For what we saw was no disorganised rabble sporting a few modern weapons, but a highly trained, strictly disciplined, well organised and efficient guerrilla army supported by a sophisticated administrative system and a political militant population.

the mozambican people are not alone

Our four weeks among the people of Mozambique made no obvious contribution to their struggle. But we hope that in a small way we may have formed a bridge between these people at war and Africa beyond their boundaries. To all those we met - commanders, teachers, peasants - we tried to demonstrate that the rest of the peoples in Africa are staunch and unfailing in their support. The Mozambican people are not alone in their battle. To all those outside, through the dissemination of what we have seen and heard, we hope to foster more active support and more militant solidarity.

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MWAKASUNGULA KAPOTE - (Arts and Social Sciences), Malawi, Treasurer of the U. Students African Revolutionary Front.

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|----------------|---|
| TSHABANGU OWEN | - (Arts and Social Sciences), Zimbabwe, Secretary of the U. Students African Revolutionary Front. |
| MSOMA SALIM | - (Arts and Social Sciences), Tanzania. |
| EMMANUEL DUBE | - (Arts and Social Sciences), Zimbabwe. |
| JOHN KAWANGA | - (Law), Uganda. |

FRELIMO
MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT

Communiqué

The liberation struggle of the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO has been intensified on all military fronts. Unable to conquer our armed forces on the battlefield the enemy resorted to criminal methods. On 3 February, through their agents they murdered the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.

While mourning the death of their President, the FRELIMO freedom fighters have sworn to honour his memory by stepping up their fight for liberation. In their messages, the political and military cadres throughout the whole country have reaffirmed their commitment to continue the struggle until victory is won.

Drawing on their wealth of experience gained during the past few years, and aided by the advent of the rainy season our fighters have launched highly effective operations against enemy military posts and camps in addition to their routine sabotage activities and ambushes.

In Cabo Delgado Province we continue our combined artillery/infantry attacks against strongholds of the enemy. The effectiveness of such activities were well illustrated in August last year when twelve planes were destroyed on the airfield of MUEDA. Such operations, while constituting a severe blow to the human and military power of the enemy, at the same time hinder their acts of repression. Thus the

air-bombing operations have been curtailed because the nearest air-base is far away in PORTO AMELIA on the coast. This has permitted greater freedom of movement for our troops and safer working conditions for the peasants. Moreover, the progress of the armed struggle and the people's increased political awareness enabled the latter to perceive and get rid of counter-revolutionaries in their midst.

In Niassa Province FRELIMO controls large areas in the region of Lake Niassa and have thus to a large extent put a halt to enemy naval activity. In Eastern Niassa enemy attempts to regain control of the liberated areas were completely neutralised and their camp of NGAZELO was destroyed.

In Tete the military front is being consolidated. The Portuguese colonial army is forced to seek more and more aid from South African troops to counter our activities, and to protect the site of the proposed Cabo Bassa Dam. Their efforts however have been in vain, because our fighters know the terrain and have the support of the people. We are now extending our activities towards the centre of the country.

With the political and military line clearly defined by the Second Congress of FRELIMO the liberation forces are developing their efforts in three ways: to fight the enemy even more vigorously, to mobilise the people and to intensify production.

Despite the manoeuvres and crimes of the enemy, the liberation struggle of the Mozambican people advances to greater and greater victories, based on the firm determination of the people and the courage of the fighters.

The following are some of the operations undertaken over the past few months:

CABO DELGADO:

On 4 February 1969 a platoon of freedom fighters came across a group of African puppet soldiers in the bush near MUSOMA. They were picking up cashew nuts. After the first few shots they ran away, leaving everything behind, including two sacks of army uniforms.

On 7 February 1969 three vehicles traveling on the road from MUIDUMBE to NANGOLOLO were ambushed by our guerrillas. A fourth, traveling some distance behind, turned back to warn a group of soldiers who were following on foot. These fired their mortars in the direction of the ambush but only succeeded in hitting their own troops. When they approached closer, the soldiers remaining from the three vehicles panicked, and thinking it was the guerrillas coming through the bush, fired on them. During the confusion our FRELIMO troops departed.

About twenty Portuguese soldiers were killed.

The next day soldiers from the post of MUIDUMBE came to collect the survivors. However, they were observed by our fighters who mined the road ahead of them, killing three and wounding five.

The enemy is aware that during the rainy season FRELIMO steps up its military activities. Consequently, they increase their efforts to counteract this by destroying any potential sites. This often entails improving and widening roads and cutting down the bush along the roadside. On one occasion they started work on the road from MUIDUMBE to NANGOLOLO. When we were informed of this, one of our platoons organised an ambush at a place called NAMANJILLO, about five kilometers from NANGOLOLO. At 9.00 o'clock on the morning of 25 January a convoy of three vehicles and one caterpillar approached our positions. They stopped a short distance away and a lieutenant, presumably some kind of a surveyor, climbed down from his "jeep" to measure the road. When he had done this he returned to the "jeep" and stood talking to the driver. Our platoon commander ordered the attack and the jeep was instantly destroyed by bazooka fire, and the lieutenant along with it. We then turned to the rest of the convoy, destroying one large lorry and damaging the two other vehicles.

In an attempt to exert control over the zone of NTANDOLA the enemy have been devoting a great deal of activity to improving the communications between the various posts and camps. In the region of MACOTI, for example, they built a bridge across the river NGUNUNGU (which has already been destroyed by our forces). Our fighters decided to put a halt to enemy activity in that zone and launched a large-scale attack against the camp of NTANDOLA on 30 January 1969. The first canon shell shot through a row of tents and ended up in a group of parked vehicles, setting them on fire. After intensive mortar and cannon fire the whole camp was destroyed. During their retreat, our guerrillas destroyed two bridges that had only recently been completed on the road between the camp and MUIJUMBE.

NIASSA:

Two of the most important actions of our guerrillas in January were the destruction of a train and an attack on a large military camp:

The railway line from CATUR to NOVA GUARDA, in the zone of LUFAALANI runs beside a road in flat open countryside. Our

fighters succeeded in organising an ambush. At 6.00 AM on 7 January we attacked and destroyed a passing train with bazookas, machine-guns and grenades.

At 5.40 AM on 14 January 1969 several FRELIMO units of infantry and artillery attacked a strategic enemy camp in MANDALAWE. Many Portuguese soldiers were killed, and others were wounded, including the camp commander who had to be taken to Vila Cabral.

TETE:

On 4 December 1968 a sabotage group laid mines on a road leading to FURANCUNGO which, the following day, blew up two lorries, killing 18 Portuguese soldiers.

On 20 December 1968 an enemy platoon went to arrest people in SHIMUTANDA region, near the river CAPOCHE. Our fighters being in ambush, saw that the villagers were being forced to march in front of the platoon. So they waited until the people had passed by and then attacked, killing 11 and wounding 17.

On 28 October an enemy platoon went to the area of Chief CATENGO, near the river CUMBUZI, to plunder the people's crops. When our guerrillas heard of this, they organised an attack on their riverside camp, killed 3 soldiers and wounded others.

On 10 January an enemy convoy hit our mines in MALUTE, on the road between CHACA and BENE. The front lorry and all its contents were destroyed, and 10 soldiers killed.

Dar es Salaam, 12 March 1969

THE ROLE OF POETRY IN THE MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION

The history of Mozambican poetry is the history of the Mozambican revolution. It is one and the same process, stemming from the premises of the socio-economic oppression by colonialism, involving the repression of African personality and culture. It strives for a similar goal, that of political and cultural liberation.

Colonial domination had been imposed through the disruption of traditional ways of living and thinking, and the correlative introduction of alien ideas and values, since the essential feature of the colonisation of a people is the systematic destruction of their identity. Such a process, operated jointly by the State and the Church, was not confined merely to the cultural sphere; the heritage of African art and culture waned not only because it had been humiliated and derided, but above all because it was deprived of the economic structures on which it had been based in the tribal societies. However, if many Africans were alienated from their cultural background to the point of rejecting it, if they were so uprooted that they no longer dared assert it openly, this background never died completely. It survived the death of the tribal economic structures and remained hidden, ready to be used as a basis for future developments. At the same time the foreign culture was being assimilated and being radically transformed by African realities, although the process engendered bitter conflicts for the individuals.

I. From the end of the XIXth Century to the Second World War

The situation in a colony like Mozambique, where repression has always been exerted with equal strength, except for slight variations, upon all of the African population, was such that not even a pseudo-poetry expressing the ideology of a privileged group could come into being, since such a group did not exist as yet. Even those who could be a part of such a social group, assimilados and mulattos, could not help expressing in their poetry some sort of resentment and rebellion against the white supremacy and the white bourgeoisie which had never really accepted them (it is the case, for instance, of J.E. Dias). Thus, there was not in Mozambique the possibility, granted to poetry in less fascist capitalist societies, where it always had a limited space for expressing through euphemism and metaphors some sort of opposition to the existing order and of nostalgia for a golden age (which could be used as a basis for a future reign of freedom). This explains the silence of Mozambican art during the first decades of the XXth century. However, this does not mean that the silence was total and unbroken. There

certainly were, here and there, poetic expressions never recorded because they were confined to the humble sphere of everyday living; folk songs, stories, poems, expressed orally by the people who created them. All this is part of the heritage the ordinary people produce over the centuries and which may be lost if it does not receive recognition from the dominant classes and their dominant culture. But it exists, and some of it will be saved, to enter history through the revolution.

Just as the oppression in Mozambique was resisted sporadically through limited local revolts, so the silence of art was at first broken by isolated cries of sorrow and despair. It is not difficult to see that all the early manifestations of protest in Mozambican society and poetry have the same tone of hopelessness, the same feature of brief and spontaneous explosion, bound to die as suddenly as they arise. The same aspects of uncertainty, of incoherence and inconsistency appear in all.

The most significant example of this is to be found in the poetic work of Rui de Noronha, whose lifetime (1909 - 1943) covers exactly the period being considered. Most evident in his poems is the conflict experienced by the African people who were torn between the old and the new world. His morbid insistence on the theme of an ambiguous divinity reflects the unresolved contradiction between the imported religion and traditional beliefs, as one example of a larger clash:

Where are you, who are you, O powerful God
Whom I cannot know nor understand....

(Súplica)

and doubts tormenting the new faith:

If God is just and good, why do I know
Evil and injustice?...

(Deus)

Noronha's poetry, unable to find a real balance and often a genuine inspiration, is typical of the situation of the Mozambican man, who restlessly looks for a new world, but without any real hope, as if looking for a Utopia which will never come:

...in the mortal anxiety which devours us...
hopes broken, the spirit killed
in this restless longing we are waiting
our whole lives until the last
hour which heaven will send us
asking in doubt if one day
that divine moment, that Utopia
has passed us by...or will never come.

(Dúvida)

His voice, constrained in the dead forms of classical poetry, such as the sonnet, does not find the right tonality for the grievances of his people. Only when he endeavours to describe their desperate situation, does his poetry become more convincing:

The sorrow I feel when I see those people
with sacks on their shoulders, so very exhausted!...
Sometimes at noon, the sun so hot
and the loads weighing, O Holy Virgin!

At the door of the monhes¹, humbly,
ever since dawn rises with a suave smile,
wearing ragged sacks, sadly
there they go peering from beneath their heavy loads...

How many, very old already, may be grand-parents,,
ten times, twenty times, from one end to the other
in a single day cross the town!

O Negroes! How painful it is to live
a whole life under the loads of others
and in old age the bread of ~~charity~~...

(Carregadores)

Here the complaint is not yet resolved into denunciation and protest, but is still an impotent and resigned moan, not fully conscious of the meaning of its suffering. And nevertheless, in this obscure context, poetry, faithful to its nature, already hints to a dream of freedom, but in as vague and as faint a way as in a dream:

The jungle makes of you a sinister desert
Where, alone, at night the beast goes roaring.
Darkness and slavery have here their empire
And you, alien to time, O Africa, sleeping...

...

Wake up! Your sleep is deeper than the earth...
Listen to the voice of progress, that other Nazarene
Who holds out his hand to you and says - "Africa, get up and go!"

(Surge et Ambula)

II. From the Second World War to the beginning of the Revolution

"Il faut retrouver les pistes de la spontanéité
que les civilisations industrielles ont rendue
sauvage."

In this period of Mozambican history, attempts in the direction of a struggle

(1) Pejorative term applied to Indian traders.

with a national dimension begin to loom, both in legal and semi-legal forms. The formation of African cultural, religious and quasi-political groups, the development of the co-operative and trade union movements, the outbursts of violence like the 1948 riots in Lourenço Marques or the stevedores strike of 1956, all indicate that the first decisive phase of the liberation has begun. A new political consciousness appears, through all the difficulties, the prohibitions, the massacres.

The hopes and frustrations of the new generation find their expression in the works of a group of young poets, like Noémia de Sousa, José Craveirinha, Rui Nogar, Gowenha Valente. In their verses, poetry shows clearly that it cannot be reconciled with the colonial power, and it shows at the same time the revolutionary impact that such an attitude contains. The subversive role of poetry is, first of all, implicit in the fact that poetry acknowledges its function, that of declaring, enunciating, and describing the terms of the situation in which it finds itself:

Only a drum breaking the bitter silence of Mafalala
Only a drum old by bleeding in the batuque of my people
Only a drum lost in the darkness of the lost night.
O old god of men
I want to be a drum
and not a river
and not a flower
and not as yet a bow
and not even poetry.

(Quero ser Tambor, by Craveirinha)

Poetry accepts the task of unveiling the hidden reality behind the deceiving illusions of the "white civilisation":

The blue and golden morning of the propaganda leaflets
engulfed the mampaza¹
completely bewildered by the unintelligible clatter
of the whites in the station...
...ah, where do you have your loads of dreams, Magaiça?²
you bring the bags full with the false brightness
of the residues of the false civilisation of the Rand's compound.
And in his hand
Magaiça, stunned, lighted the candle
searching for the lost illusion
of his youth and his health which remained buried
there in the mines of Jone...

(Magaiça, by Noémia de Sousa)

- (1) Local term, used in the South meaning someone silly.
- (2) Mozambican who goes to work in the gold mines of South Africa.

Communication becomes therefore denunciation, which raises the level of the people's awareness of the existing oppression. The denunciation is now sharp and accurate, even within the poetic form: images convey the impression of the disastrous social conditions of the Mozambican people (see poems like Mamano, Mamana Saquina, Msaho de aniversario, by Craveirinha). The accusation against exploitation is no longer vague as in Carregadores, but precise and violent as in Grito Negro:

I am coal
And you wrench me brutally from the ground,
and make me your mine, boss!

I am coal
and you light me, boss
to serve you eternally as a moving force
but not eternally, boss.

I am coal
and I have to burn, yes
and burn everything with the force of my combustion.

I am coal
the exploitation burns me
burns me alive like tar, my brother,
until I am no longer your mine, boss.

I am coal
I have to burn
burn everything with the fire of my combustion.

Yes!
I will be your coal, boss!

(Grito Negro, by Craveirinha)

Determination and revolt have taken the place of resignation:

...but put in the hands of Africa the bread which you leave
and from the hunger of Mozambique I will give you the
remnants of your greed
And you will see how the nothing from my banquet of left-overs
will also fill you
because for me
all the bread you give me is all that you reject, Europe!

(Imprecacão, by Craveirinha)

Poetry is now capable of suggesting the themes which will be essential to the Revolution. Poetry aspires to freedom, which is to poetry what air is to the bird. It can thus anticipate what only the Revolution will be able to implement: like a prophet, it sees in present misery the ferment for future richness. Poetry rediscovers the glory of African history, reinvents the pride of being an African and the growing strength acquired in recognition of oneself as a Mozambican.

With a sort of wonder, the poets recover the wealth of the African tradition. It overflows through their verses in a profusion of images and words which at times becomes almost overwhelming:

...sphinx of ebony, sensual lover,
Etruscan jar, tropical exoticism,
dementia, attraction, cruelty,
animalism, magic...

(Negra, by Noémia de Sousa)

The joy of being able to express again all this heritage - "The moving and unique glory to sing you/with a true and radical emotion" (Ibidem) - this joy derives from a new acceptance of it. An arduous struggle has been fought against the residues of colonial culture and the traces of it are still visible:

O my Africa, mysterious, natural!
My violated virgin!
My mother!...
How I was for so long exiled
from you, alienated, distant, egocentric
through those streets of the town pregnant with strangers
my mother, forgive me!
As if I could live thus
this way, eternally
ignoring the caress, fraternally warm,
of your moonlight...
As if there were not, beyond the cinemas and the cafes
the anxiety of your strange horizons
to disclose...
as if in your dewy bushes
did not the most beautiful birds
sing in their muted voice their freedom...
I cannot, I CANNOT deny
the black blood, the barbaric blood
which you passed on to me...

(Sangue Negro, by Noémia de Sousa).

But the identity is finally achieved and proclaimed:

Our voice rises, conscious and barbaric
over the white egóism of men
over the assassin indifference of everyone...
...

Our voice pierced through the conformist atmosphere of the city
and revolutionised it
sweeping it like a hurricane of knowledge.

(Nossa Voz, by Craveirinha)

If you want to know who I am,
examine with careful eyes
that piece of black wood
which an unknown Maconde brother
with inspired hands
carved and worked
in distant lands to the North.

Ah, she is who I am:
empty eye sockets despairing of possessing life,
a mouth slashed with wounds of anguish,
enormous, flattened hands,
raised as though to implore and threaten,
body tattooed with visible and invisible scars
by the hard whips of slavery...
tortured and magnificent,
proud and mystical,
Africa from head to toe,
- ah, she is who I am!

If you want to understand me
come and bend over my African soul,
in the groans of the Negroes on the docks
in the frenzied dances of the Chopes
in the rebelliousness of the Shanganas
in the strange melancholy evaporating
from a native song, into the night...

And ask me nothing more
if you really wish to know me...
for I am no more than a shell of flesh
in which the revolt of Africa congealed
its cry swollen with hope.

(Se me Quiseres Conhecer, by N. de Sousa)

To the alienation of the past, poetry opposes the triumphant assertion of the true identity of the African people. To the "white" values it opposes the "black" values:

Oh!
My beautiful and short crisp hair
and my beautiful black eyes
great moons of wonder in the most beautiful night
of the most beautiful unforgettable nights of the Zambeze lands!
...
and my wonderful hands dark like cosmic roots
nostalgic for the rites of initiation
And my mouth with swollen lips
full of the beautiful and impious virility of the black man

biting in the bread's lewd nudity

...

Oh! and my white teeth of ivory
pure shining in my reincarnated proud black face.

...

Ah!

And my flexible body like the fatal lightening of the hunting arrow
and my smooth shoulders of a black man
and my muscles tense and brown in the sun of harvests and of
burdens

in the astral capulana¹ of an intangible sky
with horns blowing the old cabalistic sounds of Africa.

(Poema Manifesto, by Craveirinha)

The reasserted identity bears with it a new value, unknown to the past: the consciousness of being not only an African, but a Mozambican. Once again poetry is able to represent the future, to foresee a nation which does not yet exist in the material sense, but is already in the minds of the nationalists. The nation is not yet there, but the men who will build it have already been born: "Any citizen/of a nation which does not yet exist", Poema do futuro cidadao, by Craveirinha.

The new nation is real. "This most beautiful and fertile nation of the world", and can be defined: The names of her heroes, and of her places, can be spoken aloud and repeated to emphasize her reality:

...and I say Metengobalaime and Macomia
and it is Metengobalaime the burning word which the Negroes
have invented.

...and I shout Inhamussua, Mutamba, Massangulo!!!
and I shout again Inhamussua, Mutamba, Massangulo!!!
and other names of my country
flow sweet and proud in the filial memory
and in the precise pronunciation I unclothe their beauty.

(Hino à minha terra, by Craveirinha)

These poets have the undeniable merit of overcoming frustration and of emerging with new values for the new Mozambique. However, one notices in their works a nucleus of nostalgia for the old world, an attachment which manifests itself in certain hermetic indulgences, in the cherishing of certain myths (the "little white girl" of Craveirinha), in the tendency to seek refuge in the oasis of love. The reason for this is that poetry alone, without its practical counterpart, is unable to sever all the ties with the old world. These poets have not participated actively in the preparation of

(1) Piece of cloth used by women as a skirt.

the Revolution. None of them has given himself to the liberation struggle. For this very reason they are before the Revolution, in spite of being contemporary with it.

The historical or personal incapability to fulfil the hopes expressed by poetry leaves it in an abstract sphere, far away from the struggle with which it longed to identify. In this context poetry is still the exceptional moment, reserved for a privileged few who, inevitably, fall back into a routine which does not know anything of freedom but the name. Poetry, born out of the hope for the Revolution, cannot realise itself without actively supporting the Revolution.

(to be continued next issue).

MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE,

Our struggle is a just struggle. It is part of the struggle of the world's people against exploitation of men by men. Our struggle is against colonialism, imperialism, racialism and tribalism.

We must reaffirm our determination to fight and defeat Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, in order to achieve our total liberation, the total liberation of Africa and the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

We must continue the armed struggle, united, without tribal, religious or racial divisions, from North to South, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, all of us against the common enemy - Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

In the New Year we must take one more step towards the victory which will ultimately be ours. Let us FIGHT with the courage which has traditionally and historically, always characterised our people.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE,
VENCEREMOS !

Eduardo Mondlane
President of FRELIMO

